7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

out of the bus and it was only with difficulty that Arnold and I managed to extricate ourselves. We took a taxi, at almost greater cost than the journey from Kaolak to Dakar, to a dingy little hotel, in the old quarter of the city. To reach it we passed through the centre of Dakar. Trees lined the streets and the architecture of both offices and houses was admirably suited to its tropical setting. It was at once evident that Dakar was a city and not just a town that had, like Lagos, rambled and sprawled and got too big. With its statuesque young skyscrapers and its wide streets, Dakar seemed a model city for the new West Africa. It was neither distinctly African nor European, but had its affinity with the modern cities of South America.

Arnold, accustomed to the higgledy-piggledy, chaotic sprawl of Lagos, and the quiet Victorian dignity of Freetown, could not quite take this in. He seemed almost to resent it as an imposition on Africa, as something that was not African. True, I found that against this background the African appeared, at first, to be an intruder. Nothing seemed more incongruous than a vast Jollof belle, dressed in her traditional robes of lace and muslin, sweeping past the more outrageous examples of *cinema moderna* architecture, or standing pensively beneath a marble plaque depicting a naked African surrounded by the fruits of progress. More incongruous still was the sight of them being spooned in and out of fast American cars or staring into patisserie windows—just imagine one of those muslin cocoons tackling a chocolate éclair. Yet the Africans seemed to have accepted their surroundings with such aplomb that very soon I was to feel that it was the Europeans who were out of place. There seemed nothing unnatural in half a dozen Africans making up their bed for the night on the pavement outside a twelve-story bank, or the young men in tight jeans standing on the street corners eyeing passing girls, just like Saturday night back at the Buildings.

We stayed one night in the Hotel des Fleurs, the cheapest I could find in Dakar. It was owned by a Lebanese, and for Dakar, a city which is almost prohibitive in price for an Englishman, it was remarkably cheap. A haircut in Dakar is 12s., and it has one of the highest cost of living indices in the world.

That night when I entered a bar called appropriately 'Café de Paris', I was unable to believe that we were still in Africa. It had

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

expensive cameras and an intriguing assortment of seaside equipment. The boat ploughed through the brisk waters of the bay before it pulled alongside the jetty, at Gorée, where the passengers climbed out with great difficulty because of the swell in the ice-blue waters, so transparent that I could see myriad fish lurking on the sandy bottom. I was cluttered up with cameras, so a tall, light-skinned African helped me on to the jetty. His fine, almost European features revealed that he was a Fulani, a curious tribe of cattle nomads to be found throughout West Africa. Some of the tribe have settled in the towns, as a superior aristocracy. The young man, a guide book in his hand, introduced himself as Seyni Djibey, and asked me whether this was the first time I had been to Gorée.

'No, I've been here before. Two years ago,' I replied.

'But you're not French,' he remarked with some astonishment. He looked at Arnold. 'I could tell because of him. The clothes he is wearing are not what the French Africans would wear,' he added.

'Where do you come from?' I asked.

'From Niamey, that's in Niger, you know!' he replied.

'Yes, I'm going there,' and before he could ask me why, I asked him a similar question.

'But what are you doing here in Senegal?'

'I just came to look. I had leave from my job, so I decided to spend some money I had saved up, travelling around West Africa. I've already been to Bamako. Next week I'm going to Conakry and Abidjan. I wanted to come here and see what Gorée is like.'

He walked towards the house of a friend to whom I had been given an introduction. The beach was littered with naked bodies, white and black, roasting in the sun that glared through a thin veil of cloud. Overlooking the right-hand wall of the beach was the picturesque Hostelerie du Chevalier de Boufflers, from which stretched in a generous semi-circle an intricacy of old houses, each one a perfect example of nineteenth-century French colonial architecture, with crumbling plaster façades, slatted shutters, large sash windows and delicately patterned verandas. Old wrought iron lamps clung to the walls of each house, giving a strangely Victorian atmosphere to the narrow street.

Seyni, looking up from his guide book, pointed to an old fort.

/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] [441] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

/74/

175 369 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some [366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.

[162] In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200 inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the 175 369 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway. 361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 369 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep, the development of commerce brought stable economic [366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little, [162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

[712] The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French 175 369 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In 441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called 563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

•366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

19: Pehaut--20 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/ Plate II

492
482
491

A. Trade: transporting the groundnuts to the trader (Diourbel).

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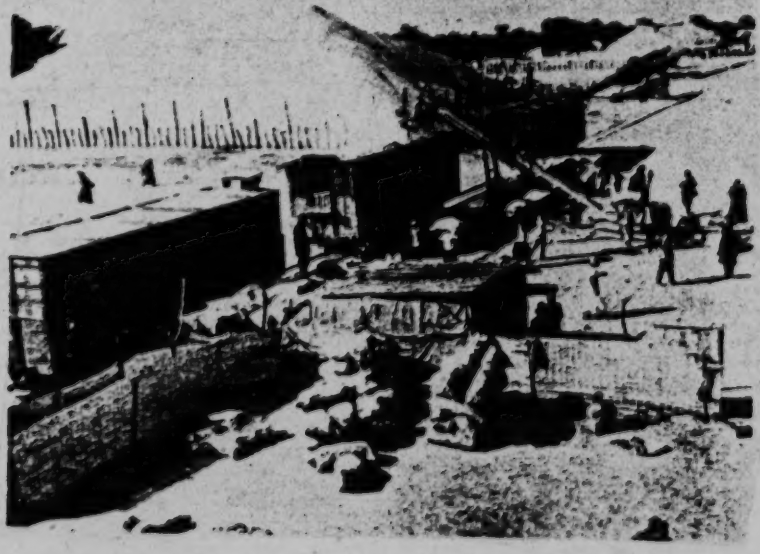

B. Loading the loose groundnuts into the cars at the station in M'Backé.

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Médina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
●[366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

Thé Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century;
[342] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in
[347] colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce domi-
[441] nated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms,
[366] C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O., Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kernel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1900 style. Several old administrative

/387 cont./

361 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town
369 Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lébou families, having benefited from the facilities offered
[477] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty,
366 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated
369 by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the
369 old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many
361 buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often
[563] more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from
[712] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by
[344] the monumental, Palace of Justice dominating the newly established embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged